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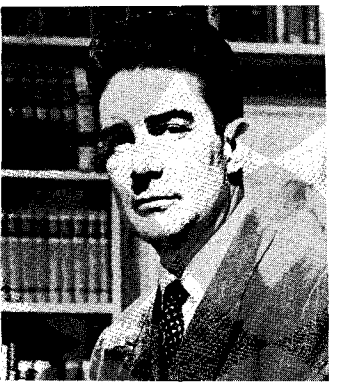

DAN SMOOT

THE IDLE WIND

There is no terror in your threats . . . for I am armed so strong in honesty that they pass by me as the idle wind, which I respect not. — Shakespeare

Top leaders of the Kennedy administration felt that strict constitutional limitations rendered the federal government incapable of meeting the needs of the nation, and of the world, in this century. They often scorned the old American federal system (which left state governments with sovereign rights and, thus, prohibited concentration of power in the central government) because they did not believe that such fragmentation of political power was adequate for the needs of society in the modern world.

Programs of the Republican administration of former President Eisenhower reflected the same convictions; but Eisenhower spokesmen were less forthright about their convictions: they generally gave more lip service to American constitutional principles than new frontier leaders did.

During the Eisenhower regime, therefore, political apathy and confusion were widespread, because it was hard to come to grips with Eisenhower. If you were "conservative" (without real understanding of the term) you could find comfort in public pronouncements of "conservative" businessmen on the Eisenhower team. Or, if you were "liberal," you could find comfort in Eisenhower programs which ignored constitutional limitations and put the federal government in the role of a totalitarian welfare state.

The relative candor of new frontiersmen, in advocating the same kinds of programs which Eisenhower had advocated, created sharp controversies which the Eisenhower vagueness never aroused. Consequently, new frontier programs, though not different in kind from those of the previous administration, evoked more opposition. Whereas programs of totalitarian liberalism met little determined resistance during eight Eisenhower years, the same, or similar, programs were approaching stalemate after less than three years of his successor.

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The *Congressional Quarterly,* November 22, 1963, reveals that, of 25 major pieces of legislation supported by the administration, 7 were enacted into law. There was little likelihood that the First Session of the 88th Congress would approve one more than one-third of the Kennedy administration's legislative program.

The main opposition to the late President's programs was not partisan — in the superficial sense of *Republicans* opposing measures proposed by *Democrats.* For the most part, conservative Republicans in Congress who opposed new frontier measures had the same motives as Democrats who joined them: they considered the measures harmful, unconstitutional.

Public opposition to the new frontier was completely divorced from partisan politics. Constitutional conservatives are not primarily interested in the welfare of political parties. They cling to the fundamental principles of government written into the Constitution and Bill of Rights. They support politicians who uphold those principles, because they think a great nation should cherish the foundations of its greatness.

With President Kennedy in the White House, the great political issues were becoming widely understood. Before the assassination, there was a growing sense of optimism, almost of jubilation, among American conservatives. The prospect was bright that the presidential election of 1964 would offer the people of America, for the first time in this generation, a clear choice between totalitarian liberalism and constitutional conservatism. Constitutional conservatives were elated by this prospect, because they believe that voters, if given a clear choice, will vote for candidates who stand firmly on the Constitution. The same prospect seemed to fill liberals with bitterness, possibly because liberals also realize that their political philosophy will be rejected, if put to a fair contest at the polls. One indication that liberal leaders are coming to such realization may be found in the Fulbright Memorandum of 1961 — in which Senator J. William Fulbright (Democrat, Arkansas) admitted that the people, if given a choice, would reject such liberal programs as foreign aid. [1]

Though President Kennedy was the arch political foe of constitutional conservatism, conservatives were sincerely shocked and saddened by the assassination. Liberals, who idolized the President, expressed little resentment for the murderer but heaped venom on conservatives.

The Reverend J. Claude Evans, Chaplain of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, delivered a memorial sermon for President Kennedy, saying:

"The word of President Kennedy's assassination came to me while I was . . . in Chicago . . . . Could it be true that Dallas who had spit on a vice-presidential candidate, clobbered with a picket sign the country's Ambassador to the United Nations, had now killed the President of the United States? The reality of the fact lent unreality to the moment.

"I hastened to the airport hoping to catch an early plane back to Dallas . . . . An airport limousine driver preached a short sermon to those of us on his bus. 'Jesus Christ, what's wrong with people who would do something like that?' . . . I did not tell him I was from Dallas . . . .

"How long will it take for us in Dallas to see that we participate in the crucifixion of Jesus by a cultural climate so concerned about self that it unleashes a demonic radicalism that ends in the murder of the President? The cross of Jesus is nailed up afresh by the radical rightists who use freedom to deny freedom to alternate views . . . .

"It is ironic that a maniac of the radical left perpetrated the actual assassination of President Kennedy. But this is no argument for the rightness of the right . . . . The radicalism of the extreme leftist of the forties, the radical rightists of today are blood brothers . . . .

"Whatever else President Kennedy stood for, he did stand for the free discussion of issues in a free and open society. And this is what we are in danger of losing . . . . We are being threatened by those who operate in the dark, who slink into deserted buildings with high-powered guns and ammunition, who write anonymous letters attacking professors at Southern Methodist University and circulate them among the student

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body and potential contributors. We are in danger of being frightened into silence by being labelled 'socialists' or 'do gooders' or communist influenced . . . ."[2]

Dr. Evans, praising "free discussion of issues in a free and open society," seems outraged that conservatives have freedom to discuss anything. This one-dimensional viewpoint typifies "liberalism" in our time.

The *Sacramento* [California] *Bee* said:

"He came to the Presidency, did Kennedy, in an hour of rising extremism and in an hour when the preachers of hate were spreading their gospels of Fascism across the land and because this is a free land they were permitted to speak. Now Kennedy is dead and a piece of America died with him."[3]

The *Bee* uses *fascism* as a label for constitutional conservatives. [4]

Rabbi Meir Lasker, of Temple Judea Congregation in Philadelphia, said:

"For in our hearts, we know, that we cannot throw the entire guilt upon the head of the young assassin, nor even upon the shoulders of the white council groups — who undoubtedly influenced, by their corrupt standards, this irrational act. For in truth we are all somewhat responsible . . . permitting such conditions to develop — that lawlessness was bound to raise its ugly head."[5]

Note that Rabbi Lasker did not call the President's murderer a communist. He called him a "young assassin." The Rabbi expressed a sentiment that was virtually universal in the pronouncements of liberals: namely, that the whole nation must share the blame for creating an atmosphere which encouraged a maniac to kill. This is nonsense, and a gratuitous insult to the people of America. The heat engendered by political conflict between liberals and conservatives had nothing to do with the fact that a communist shot the President.

If there *is* any connection between a *national* attitude and the murder of President Kennedy, those involved in that connection are liberals. For years, liberals have maintained that communists in the United States are not dangerous, and have sneered at what they called conservative "hysteria" about the dangers of communism. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has been bluntly vocal in this regard. In the fall of 1961, Attorney General Kennedy invited Walter Reuther to submit recommendations about controlling and silencing the "radical right." The Reuther memorandum to Robert Kennedy (submitted December 19, 1961), recommended, among other things, that "radical rightists" be placed on the Attorney General's subversive list. According to Reuther, a "basic fallacy of the radical right" — a main reason why conservatives are dangerous and should be declared subversive — is their over-emphasis on the dangers of "domestic communism."[6]

Concerning the general liberal allegation that *Dallas* environment somehow caused a communist to murder the President: it is noteworthy that Dallas homes which Lee Harvey Oswald is reported to have visited were homes of liberal intellectuals. The only meeting that Oswald is known to have attended in Dallas was a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union, at Southern Methodist University, on the night of October 25, 1963. The ACLU meeting that night featured a film portraying the evil of "right-wing" extremism in the State of Washington, where, in 1962, a state representative was defeated for re-election because right-wingers disclosed the fact that the representative's wife had once been a member of the communist party.[7]

Making The Most Of It

If the President had been murdered by a maniac who claimed to be a John Bircher or a racial segregationist, the vigilantes of liberalism would really be stalking the land. But the President was murdered by a communist. Though this fact seems particularly disconcerting to liberals, it has not kept them from capitalizing on the event.

On November 29, 1963, United States Representative Richard Bolling (liberal Democrat from Missouri) demanded that "seniority privileges" on committees be denied Democrats who

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refuse to support *all* policies and candidates of the national Democrat Party. Bolling called southern conservative Democrats "subversives and quislings of the Democratic Party."[8]

United States Representative Harry R. Sheppard (liberal Democrat from California) predicted that a "chastened Congress, sobered by the assassination of the President, will probably pass the Kennedy civil rights and tax-cut proposals before the end of the year."[9]

This was the appeal that President Johnson made, in his speech to a joint session of Congress on November 27, 1963. President Johnson urged Congress to honor the late President by passing his civil rights and tax bills. While pleading for harmony and national unity, and the elimination of hate and bitterness, the President urged precipitate action on legislation which many regard as divisive and hate-inciting.

Eight days before the assassination, the Senate voted approval of Senator Karl Mundt's amendment to the Foreign Aid Act — prohibiting the Export-Import Bank from guaranteeing credit to communist nations for purchases in the United States. Later, Senator Mundt (Republican, South Dakota), in response to administration pleas, withdrew his amendment and resubmitted it as a separate bill. The Mundt proposal was not intended to prohibit sales to communist nations, but merely to require cash payments from them.

Four days after the assassination, the Mundt Bill (whose basic provisions the Senate had already approved) came to a vote. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield read to the Senate a letter from the deceased President urging defeat of the Bill. It was defeated by a vote of 57 to 35.[10]

In January, 1961, United States Representative Victor L. Anfuso (liberal Democrat, New York) introduced a bill requiring American citizens to register their handguns with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The bill lay pending in the House Judiciary Committee for more than a year. In March, 1962 (when there were indications of effort to have the bill reported out of committee), an issue of this *Report* dealt with the subject, "Right To Keep And Bear Arms."

The Second Amendment to the Constitution prohibits the federal government from infringing upon "the right of the people to keep and bear arms." Federal firearms control clearly violates this constitutional protection for law-abiding citizens, but does not to any degree reduce crimes of violence by preventing criminals from acquiring deadly weapons. Indeed, crimes of violence generally increase when law-abiding citizens are denied means of self defense.

Publicity about the Anfuso Bill precipitated massive public protest. The Bill died in committee when the 87th Congress adjourned in 1962.

Drew Pearson, in a syndicated column dated December 3, 1963 (headlined, by some papers which printed it, as "Hate Groups' Role in Kennedy's Death"), said:

"If hate groups had not pressured Congress against passage of an arms registration act, President Kennedy might still be alive today. Early in 1962, Representative Victor Anfuso, the Brooklyn Democrat, introduced a bill requiring individuals to register firearms with the FBI . . . . There was a storm of criticism from the right wing and a flood of letters to Congress. It's significant that part of the opposition came from Dallas where Dan Smoot . . . conducts a right-wing radio program and sends a newsletter to gullible readers. . . .

"What motive, ulterior or otherwise, the pro-fascists had in opposing the registering of firearms is not known. At any rate, the pressure was so great the bill did not pass . . . ."

The Pearson column is part of a leftwing effort to use the President's assassination as propaganda for legislation which violates a fundamental right of the people and which, in calmer times, the people and the Congress steadfastly opposed.

In the political arena, also, liberals are trying to capitalize on the murder of President Kennedy.

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The most distressing example, to date, is in Louisiana. Before the assassination, the governor's race in Louisiana (first primary of the Democrat Party) was already intense. No candidate was expressing "hatred" of President Kennedy; but the Kennedy administration was the predominant issue. Astute observers felt that an anti-Kennedy candidate was bound to win, because, among the people of Louisiana, there was tremendous opposition to practically all new frontier programs.

Following the assassination, liberals allegedly converted the Louisiana political race into a hate campaign. According to reports, supporters of liberal candidates ran ads in newspapers, saying that a vote for an anti-Kennedy candidate would be "an endorsement of the Dallas tragedy and a condemnation of the lawful processes of government."[11]

On December 5, 1963, *The Shreveport Times* said, editorially:

"During the final few days of the state primary campaigns, a revolting effort is being made in some parts of the state actually to capitalize on the horrible and tragic assassination of a president of the United States.

"This is being done in an obvious effort to create hate in the hearts of voters for two specific candidates who are described falsely and without one iota of documentation as 'haters' of John Fitzgerald Kennedy . . . .

"Every individual who voted for Mr. Kennon or Mr. McKeithen [anti-Kennedy candidates] is damned as 'endorsing' the assassination of a president . . . ."

There were seven major candidates in the Louisiana gubernatorial primary, held on December 7, 1963. DeLesseps Morrison (pro-Kennedy candidate) finished first; John J. McKeithen (anti-Kennedy candidate) finished second. There will be a second, or run-off, primary election between these two, next January.

President Johnson

In his first major speech as President, Mr. Johnson, with practiced artistry, played upon the overwrought emotions of Congress and the people — asking approval of controversial legislation as a "tribute" to the fallen President. Will the President continue in this vein? Will he, too, in 1964, try to make political capital of the assassination? Mr. Johnson's record indicates that he will.

In the spring of 1956, the primary elections in Texas were a contest, between the liberal forces of Lyndon B. Johnson and the conservative forces of Allan Shivers, for control of the Democrat Party. The Johnson forces won. In a speech to a B'nai B'rith convention in Washington (May 8, 1956), Johnson said that the victory of his liberal forces was a rejection of "the vicious attempt to inject racial hatred" into Texas politics.[12] But conservatives had not raised the racial issue! It was Johnson's liberals who talked about racial hatred.

More recently, in the Presidential campaign of 1960, Mr. Johnson repeatedly insinuated that anyone opposed to him and Mr. Kennedy was anti-Catholic. Johnson relentlessly used the "religious issue" in 1960,[13] while accusing Republicans of raising it, though Republicans carefully avoided the issue throughout the campaign.

Is President Johnson more conservative than President Kennedy was? He is not. Insofar as their voting records in the Senate can be compared, the records reveal that Senator John F. Kennedy voted more conservatively than Senator Johnson. A tabulation of 43 key votes which Johnson cast in the Senate during 1959 and 1960 (when he was majority leader) reveals that he voted with conservatives 3 times, with liberals 40 times — which gave him a conservative rating of 7%.

His three conservative votes:

(1) for retaining anti-communist loyalty oaths required by the National Defense Education Act; (2) for retaining cloture rules which permit "filibuster" in the Senate; (3) against increasing appropriations for the United States Information Agency.

Johnson's 40 liberal votes in the Senate during 1959 and 1960:

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(1) 10 votes for foreign aid; (2) 4 votes for public housing; (3) 7 votes for subsidies to private industry; (4) 1 vote for subsidies to local governments; (5) 1 vote for liberal labor legislation; (6) 1 vote for federal aid to education; (7) 7 votes for social legislation — such as, federal aid to depressed areas, Youth Conservation Corps, the food stamp program, federal aid for sewage plants and other public works, extensions of Social Security benefits; (8) 2 votes for aid to communist nations; (9) 2 votes for civil rights measures; (10) 1 vote for federal hydro-electric power dams; (11) 1 vote for federal control of elections; (12) 3 votes for measures promoting the cause of world government.

Johnson is a skillful moderator and compromiser. Will he, therefore, be more tolerant of criticism than the late President was, thus making possible forthright discussion of basic issues, with less bitterness than has prevailed in recent years? President Johnson is not a tolerant man. It is interesting to compare his attitude toward constitutional conservatives (whom he calls right-wing extremists) with that of President Kennedy. The late President did speak harshly, and often, in denunciation of "right-wing extremists." In fact, the speech he had scheduled for Dallas on the day of his assassination was on that subject; but President Kennedy never publicly threatened to silence his "right-wing" critics. On the other hand, note some remarks by Mr. Johnson, in May, 1963, during a speech to a group of new frontier lawyers at Washington, D. C. Mr. Johnson accused "right-wingers" of irresponsibility, saying:

"But we cannot afford paralysis, and paralysis is what this irresponsibility will bring if it is not checked. I do not accept the counsel of those who continue to say that irresponsibility should be left to run its own course. By definition, irresponsibility has no self-limiting capacity. There is no point at which irresponsibility will voluntarily stop and responsibly assess the consequences of its course."(14)

Is that not a threat to muzzle critics whom Mr. Johnson regards as "irresponsible?"

Does President Johnson have more respect for the American constitutional system than his immediate predecessors in the presidency? It is doubtful. On July 13, 1963, Mr. Johnson spoke in Cheyenne, Wyoming, defending Senator Gale McGee (liberal Democrat, Wyoming). Senator McGee is in political trouble in Wyoming, because of the growing strength of constitutional conservatives. Mr. Johnson called conservatives "peddlers of doubt" and denounced their views as "reactionary." He said:

"The West will not flourish as the 20th Century's land of prosperity if it is turned backward into an 18th Century desert of political unreality."(15)

The 18th Century produced the American constitutional system. No other country, in any other period of recorded history, was blessed with as much political "reality," genius, wisdom, and learning as the 13 American States which sent the Founding Fathers to a Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in May, 1787.

The nation has cause for grave concern because of Johnson's attitude toward unions and the negro vote. President Kennedy catered to union bosses and negro leaders, but not to the degree that Johnson does. President Kennedy, indelibly identified as an eastern liberal, had the foregone support of union bosses and negro leaders almost in the same way that the Democrat Party for a long time had a political brass collar on the Solid South. Johnson, being a Texan, identified with oil and cattle, still feels a need to prove himself with negro and union leaders — despite his consistent support of all major programs advocated by negro organizations and unions. It is significant that one of the first telephone calls Mr. Johnson made as President was to David Dubinsky, head of the Ladies Garment Workers Union, a powerful political figure in extreme leftwing labor circles. Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins — extremist leftwing negro leaders — were among the first non-governmental persons whom President Johnson invited to the White House for conference.

The Road Ahead

In less than three years, opposition to the Ken-

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nedy administration aroused and mobilized conservative forces. If President Kennedy had lived, and if conservatives had found (in Senator Goldwater or someone else) a candidate to stand squarely on constitutional grounds and directly oppose every major policy of the Kennedy administration, elections in 1964 could have been a magnificent example of the American "democratic process." Well-informed conservatives had no doubt about the outcome of such an election: voters would have rejected the new frontier. Public opposition to the late President's policies had already reached the proportions of a major political revolt — and was growing fast.

The late President had become the primary symbol of the forthcoming political struggle: on the one hand, the foremost leader of liberalism; on the other, the arch political foe of conservatism. With the symbol now become a martyr, and with the forces of liberalism using the martyrdom for political gain, the picture is confusing. The confusion will be compounded by President Johnson, who, despite his record, has already convinced many that he is a moderate conservative. This has prompted liberal Republicans to intensify their campaign against Senator Goldwater — in favor of some "moderate," like Richard M. Nixon.

If Republicans wish to win against President Johnson in 1964, they had better nominate a constitutional conservative. Johnson will make any other kind of Republican opponent look foolish.

It *may* be that liberal Republicans would rather lose the presidential election next year than win with a real conservative; but one thing is certain: a 1964 election in which voters *again* have to choose between two candidates standing for identical policies would be damaging to the cause of liberty.

Constitutional conservatives can obviate such development. The murder of a President has emphatically proved the correctness of a basic conservative stand — namely, that communists are dangerous in the United States and should be made to obey the laws of the land. The current frenzy of liberals proves that the educational work of constitutional conservatives is changing the climate of public opinion.

Constitutional conservatives should intensify their educational work. Those who support campaigns to get independent ballot positions for conservatives next year, should redouble their efforts. Those who support Goldwater should press the Senator to make a clear and emphatic decision soon. It is time to end the moratorium on discussions of vital issues.

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU in Dallas, getting BA and MA degrees in 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American Civilization.

In 1942, he left Harvard and joined the FBI. As an FBI Agent, he worked for three and a half years on communist investigations in the industrial Midwest; two years on FBI headquarters staff in Washington; and almost four years on general FBI cases in various parts of the nation.

In 1951, Smoot resigned from the FBI and helped start Facts Forum. On Facts Forum radio and television programs, Smoot spoke to a national audience, giving *both* sides of controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his present independent publishing and broadcasting business — a free-enterprise operation financed entirely by profits from sales: sales of *The Dan Smoot Report,* a weekly magazine; and sales of a weekly news-analysis broadcast, to business firms, for use on radio and television as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and the broadcast give only *one* side in presenting documented truth about important issues — the side that uses the American Constitution as a yardstick. The *Report* is available by subscription; and the broadcasts are available for commercial sponsorship, anywhere in the United States.

If you think Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for Americans fighting socialism and communism, you can help immensely — by helping him get more customers for his *Report* and broadcasts.

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Conservatives have *nothing* to be defensive or apologetic about. What an advantage this gives them!

* * * *

For The Record

George Soule, mentioned on Page 364 of the November 18, 1963, issue of this *Report* (as a member of the League for Industrial Democracy), is George Harry Soule, Jr., a former professor at Bennington College and long-time editor of *The New Republic*. He is not the same as George Soule, President of Soule College, New Orleans, Louisiana.

FOOTNOTES

(1) "Memorandum: Propaganda Activities Of Military Personnel Directed At The Public," by U. S. Senator J. William Fulbright, *Congressional Record,* August 2, 1961, pp. 14433-6 (bound), pp. 13436-9 (daily)

(2) "God's Word to Man In The Cross," by Rev. J. Claude Evans, *The South Carolina Methodist Advocate,* Columbia, South Carolina, Vol. 127, No. 47, November 28, 1963, pp. 5, 8-9

(3) "Opinion of the Week: At Home and Abroad," *The New York Times,* November 24, 1963, p. E9

(4) For a comprehensive discussion of fascism, nazism, communism, socialism, and socialism in America, see the *Reports* "Does The U. S. Oppose Communist World Conquest?", November 11, 1963; "How Did Socialism Grow In The U. S.?", November 18, 1963; and "Socializing America," November 25, 1963; set of three for 50c.

(5) Remarks of U. S. Representative Herman Toll (Democrat, Pennsylvania), *Congressional Record,* December 2, 1963 (daily), pp. A7346

(6) "The Radical Right In America Today," by Victor G. and Walter P. Reuther, *The Christian Beacon,* August 15, 1963, pp. 4-5

(7) "Civil Liberties Union: Oswald Attended Group's Meeting," by George Carter, *The Dallas Times Herald,* December 11, 1963, p. 39A; "JFK Making Rights Progress, Oswald Said to Acquaintance," by Kent Biffle, *The Dallas Morning News,* December 12, 1963, Section 4, p. 5

(8) AP dispatch from Washington, *The Dallas Times Herald,* November 29, 1963, p. 4A

(9) "Sees Passage Of Kennedy's Major Plans," *The Sun-Telegram,* San Bernardino, California, November 24, 1963, p. 2

(10) *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* November 29, 1963, p. 2100

(11) "Hate Issue Arises In Louisiana Race," by Fred Pass, *The Dallas Morning News,* December 6, 1963, Section 1, p. 7

(12) "Johnson Calls Vote Anti-Bias, Cites Victory To B'nai B'rith," by Paul Tobenkin, *The New York Herald Tribune,* May 9, 1956

(13) UPI dispatch from Los Angeles, *The Dallas Morning News,* September 10, 1960

(14) "Washington Wire," *The Dallas Morning News,* June 3, 1963, Section 1, p. 18

(15) UPI dispatch from Cheyenne, *The Dallas Times Herald,* July 14, 1963, p. 21A

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Washington officialdom uses your taxes for programs that are creating vast cesspools of waste and corruption — and dragging our Republic into the quicksands of socialism. What can you do about it?

You can help educate and arouse the people who elect men responsible for harmful programs of government. When enough other Americans know and care as you do, political action to restore our Republic will come.

If *The Dan Smoot Report* was instrumental in bringing you to the point of asking what *you* can do about saving the country from mushrooming big government, here is a checklist for you: Have you urged others to subscribe to the *Report?* Have you sent them reprints of a particular issue of the *Report?* Have you shown them a Dan Smoot film? Have you ever suggested a Bound Volume of *The Dan Smoot Report* for use by speakers, debaters, students, writers? Have you read and passed on to others any of the Dan Smoot books — *The Invisible Government, The Hope Of The World, America's Promise?*

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